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tribeswomen and the daughters of Chiefs, and many own land and are given tithes of other land by ancient right.

The other holy class is that of the descendants of the saints, for so they claim to be. Almost every village in the territory has its saints' tomb, a white rectangular building with one or more domes. Some of these tombs are of great age, and many I suspect to be pre-Islamic. Within the shrine these older structures are similar. There is a modern wooden rail pierced by a door. Beyond this is a long plaster sarcophagus in the shape of a roughly surfaced mound, sometimes as much as twenty feet long or more. Within this the saint or the prophet is supposed to be buried. Names, however, give an indication that it is not always an Islamic saint. Such names as Mola Matr, or Master of Rain, are of great interest, and it is a pity that such shrines have been adopted into Islam and not saved for archæology.

Each shrine is maintained by public subscription, in the form of tolls on travellers and gifts to reinforce prayers. Many shrines also own land or receive tithes from land. They are guarded by families who use the title Sheikh and who claim descent from the original saint. The best description for these families is that of "Holy Sheikh." In most cases the saint is considered a miracle worker, and this power may descend upon the Holy Sheikhs as well. This fact in itself is sufficient to give the Holy Sheikhs considerable influence, and they inspire respect and fear. I would stress the question of fear, for it is important. The buried saint and, to a certain degree, his supposed descendants are credited with the power of doing bodily and personal harm, such as depriving of sanity, striking with blindness, destruction of crops and the like. They are, in effect, witch-doctors, and are feared more than are the Seyyids, since they are considered to be dangerous men. Most go unarmed. Occasionally they arm and join in feuds and tribal wars, but such Holy Sheikhs lose much of their power.

In this class one may put the attendants at the shrines of Prophets. They cannot claim to be descended from the Prophets and therefore they are not personally capable of working miracles. Consequently they have little influence in public affairs. The Prophets buried in the Protectorate include Job, or 'Aiyub, as he is called, whose tomb is near Dhala', and Sha'ib, the supposed father-in-law of Moses, who has several tombs. We must also include those peculiar men who watch over the abodes of Jinns and spirits. They are not supposedly capable of working miracles, but they are held in awe for their spooky associations. There is a famous Jinn who resides on the headland of Ras Imran, near Aden. His attendants are all of one family, who are treated by the people similarly to the attendants of a Prophet's tomb.

All those Holy Sheikhs, whether descendants of saints, attendants at Prophets' shrines or Jinns' abodes, are called Sheikhs, and each family elects its own headman. They are frequently confused with Sheikhs who derive their titles from elected headmanship of tribal sections and of villages. While some saints are undoubtedly of Islamic origin, most are, I suspect, of very ancient origin, and all, whether saints, Prophets or Jinns, receive the same honours. A day in the year is set apart for their

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they are a race apart and are much respected, frequently attaining positions of high rank. A man will trust his slave before his brother. Tribesmen will eat with a slave when the slave has attained a position of eminence, such as governor of a village or commander of a post, but never with a Doshan or with a Heiq. A Chief's responsibility for his slaves is a very real one, and should he sell a slave or part with one he will be considered to have committed a shame. The slaves that I have met in the territory upheld the reputation slaves have always had for loyalty and courage.

We next come to two curious races, the Akhdam and the Hajur. I am satisfied that these are quite separate races, although there are a few instances of intermarriage in the major settlements. Akhdam is the plural of Khadim, which means "servant." This race is of African origin, but I can make no guess at the date at which they came to Arabia. Whenever it was, they appear to have left no relations or traces behind them in Africa. Their main settlement is at Zabid in the Western Yemen. They are of the Shafa'i sect, but practise witchcraft, make phalli and hold snakes and snake-charmers in great respect. In appearance they are small and their skin is a dull dark brown, not a glossy East African black. The only race in the country which will do filthy work, the Akhdam are in great demand and are employed as sweepers. They have their own headman in their small communities, successful wizards appointing themselves to the post without election.

The second foreign race is the Hajur. They appear to be South-west Abyssinians and are very like the Galla. Like the Akhdam, they have long ago lost any linguistic connection with Africa and speak Arabic. They are hardy and well-built and live in grass-hut settlements on the coastal belt between Lahej and Abyan. Some, on occasion, bear arms, but they are on the whole un-warlike and seek casual labour at harvest time. The 'Abdali tribes of Lajeh have intermarried with them to a considerable extent, and for this reason the 'Abdalis are darker than most coast Arabs and many villages in their territory are occupied by settled Hajur. In a few generations the Hajur and the 'Abdali will be indistinguishable, and I think this mingling of the two races must be very recent, and probably began during or just before the Turkish occupation of Lahej in 1916.

East of Aden, for some hundred miles, the coastal fishing communities are of Hajur or mixed Hajur stock. They elect their headmen as the Arabs do and are of the Shafa'i sect, but, like the Akhdam, they incline towards witchcraft and phallic worship. The observant traveller on the Lahej road will see plenty of evidence for this close to their settlements.

It is possible that these two African races came to Arabia during the second and third centuries A.D. as camp-followers to Abyssinian armies. But this is pure conjecture.

Finally, we come to the Jews. Jewish settlements exist all over the Protectorate. The principal settlement is in San'a, and all Jews of South Arabia claim inter-relationship and have many family connections in Palestine. They claim to be descended from the Jews of Kheybar. It is more probable, however, that the original Yemeni Jews are of South Arab race. Before the rise of Islam the people of South-west Arabia were

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and there was a general desire for peace in order to get on with the work in the fields.

My wife was accompanied by Seiyid 'Alawi al 'Attas and Jemila, a devoted maid servant of the family, who perched precariously on the back of my wife's camel singing Badawin war songs. My wife learnt some of them and they proceeded up the wadi singing duets. Besides being an amusing companion Jemila was a very useful one, for she proved an excellent lady's maid and a masseuse as well. Seiyid 'Alawi has married a tribeswoman, so the party stayed at Zeila in the house of his brother-in-law, one of the principal Ja'da chiefs. Like many Ja'dis their host had been to Java, but the only sign of his travels was a bicycle which he had brought back with him and which he said he preferred to a camel. From Zeila they rode through many small villages to 'Anaq belonging to the Al ash Shaibi, who are credited with possessing the Evil Eye and consequently shunned as much as possible. Seiyid 'Alawi thought it prudent not to mount his camel till the village had been left well behind, in case he was made to fall off by some evilly disposed person. They spent a night at 'Amd, which is almost at the end of Ja'da territory, for a little farther up the wadi the Madhi tribe have their habitat. All the villages in the wadi are much alike with a few three- and four-storeyed houses set amongst smaller ones, and most of them have well-built tanks for catching rain-water. Particularly in the left bank there are many dug-out caves, largely used now for habitation and grain stores. Miss Caton-Thompson says that these were probably all Himyaritic tombs. I think some cave dwellers she met were rather put out when she told them they were living in tombs. Many of the Al 'Attas family, who have much influence over the Ja'dis, have been canonized and their domed tombs are objects of veneration in several villages. My wife's appearance was taken for granted at 'Amd, where she spent a night with women who had been to Java and had seen European women before. They had brought back a few momentos of their travels and impelled by the same spirit that makes us hang Eastern curios on our walls they had hung up a pair of cheap European high-heeled slippers for the admiration of their untravelled friends.

From 'Amd they returned down the wadi following the left bank and passed many ruins, most of which covered low spurs jutting out from the cliffs. At Husn Ba Qasm there are ruins known as 'Adiya Qudha'a which may indicate the site of what was once the principal town in the wadi, as in the days before Islam it was called Wadi Qudha'a. Near the large village of Bateh they passed the time of day with a man who spoke to them from a second-storey window of his house as he dared not go out, for he was carrying on single-handed a war with all his neighbours. Like many others with whom my wife talked he asked for peace. Another had said "We want peace, we're sick of fighting. A man works in his fields and is shot dead—what's the use of it?" And another stopped them and said: "A country without a government is not a country. Bring us peace and settled government."

Returning to Shibam, which is of course the principal Qu'aiti town of the interior, there is west of it past Al Qatn and as far as the junction of the Wadi Du'an a bloc of Yafa'is, with a few Kathiris surviving in such places as Ajlania on the junction itself and also in the Wadi 'Amd. These Yafa'is have been

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302 Women, according to a visitor from that locality, have no special hair customs in Hadhramaut other than shaving round the temple to show as wide an expanse of forehead as possible.

EXORCISM, SPIRITS, JINNS, SACRIFICES.[1]

[771] The mountaineers, although normally belonging to the *Shafi* sect of Islam, are full of pagan
● 754 cults which excite the ire of the orthodox Moslem visitor. I have already in my paper under
755 reference explained the details of Ra'aba Hamra spirit exorcism and snake-bite cure—the
752 imprecations in the Shahara tongue of the mountains, the raising and lowering of bodies, the spitting on the wound. At Shisur I noticed that the proceedings were terminated by a rifle fired into the air. That, however, is the procedure for the "Evil Eye," so here this bravery was dispensed with. The cure did not work, however, and was followed by another next day. This, called Habil, was a kind of divination and propitiation. The practitioner, rope in hand, sat about three paces from his patient. A third party was called to hold the end of the rope. Taking an arbitrary length of it with the thumb and forefinger of one hand, the practitioner measured the outstretched length of it with his disengaged arm by means of forearm's length, hand span and finger breadth. The operation he repeated three times, each occasion preceded by a pause to bend his head low over the rope and shake his head, making a curious burbling noise with his lips, and to take a handful of sand which he sprinkled up and down the rope. In conclusion he looked up at his patient and gave him the following remedy: "at sunset take so many dates and so much *samn* (butter) and go and cast it away upon the sands."

754 These mountain tribes are much afraid of the Evil Eye, not only for themselves, but equally
755 for their flocks and herds. The ceasing of lactation is invariably ascribed to *Ain Balis*. The cure is frankincense. I witnessed the ceremony on occasion and made a cinema film of it, though it is usually performed at sunrise or at sunset. The incense burner was brought and wood introduced and lighted. The practitioner, the cow-owner, broke a fragment of frankincense about the size of a walnut into three pieces. Then spitting upon it three times he introduced it into the burner. While two other witnesses held the afflicted animal by head and leg respectively, he waved about its head the burning frankincense, chanting a set sacrificial chant.

782 For human sickness a cow or a sheep is sacrificed, the blood being sprinkled over the patient's shoulders and breasts when the sun is high overhead; the animal must be female. For sacrifices at human deaths, male and female animals are alike held virtuous.

753 A Sayid met me in the mountains and asked me whether I knew of anything to pacify
776 *Afarit*. His wife had had a series of miscarriages. *Afarit* were the cause. There are many evil spirits—*Afarit*, *jinns*, *jinnyat* and *Zars*. *Zars*[2] are the most accommodating, *jinns* sometimes yield, but *Afarit*—they are Allah's worst affliction.

782 The sacrifice of animals in case of death varies with the importance and wealth of the
556 deceased. In small and average estates one half of his cows are sacrificed. In big estates

[1] Detailed descriptions will be found in my *Arabia Felix* (Jonathan Cape, 1932).

[2] A detailed description of the "Zar" cult as practised in Oman is given in my *Alarms and Excursions in Arabia* (Allen and Unwin, 1931).

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exceeding 40 cows, 20 cows are the limit, may be a camel and a few sheep as well. In the case of a poor man, perhaps a single cow or sheep. Two cows are slaughtered near the grave of the deceased on the day of burial (*i.e.* death generally), if overnight, a third cow. Two nights are allowed to pass and on the third night a cow is slaughtered. This is called *khutum*. A further period elapses varying according to the economic condition of the deceased's relatives. It may be so little as a fortnight or so much as three months when the big sacrifice takes place, may be of 10, 15 or 20 cows respresenting half of the deceased man's herds. This is called *yom el nahaira*. Both *khutum* and *nahaira* are performed at the place where the man lived and not upon his grave. More cows will be sacrificed by relatives and friends of the deceased towards whose families in his lifetime he has acted similarly. This vast slaughter attracts the whole neighbourhood and the sectional tribe of the dead man divide up the flesh for themselves, and go away under their great burdens. Visitors from other tribes have no such rights, but partake of the feast of cooked meat for which one cow will have been roasted for the occasion.

There is a widespread belief in *Subiro*, i.e. spirits of the departed and their power for good and evil. In the Wadi Rizat I came upon scraps of food and tobacco in the pool beneath where the spring comes gushing out of a cavern. The locals emerge at night to throw morsels on the ground or into the pool shouting, "We are your sons and your daughters—don't harm us. Be awake so that we are not harmed by *Jins* (human kind) or *Jinns*."

Nughush they call this casting of bread upon the waters. In theory these spirits brood over running water only: they are amenable to kind treatment and treat mankind in the same way that they are treated by mankind.

The people of Jurbaib, lower down, sacrifice a cow before the harvest after it has made a circuit of the crops—its blood being drained into the irrigation ducts. Bits of its flesh are cast amongst the growing grass.

This spring of Rizat was in old days the subject of a notorious government case. Bait Zaiyan, a section of the Shahara, claimed the exclusive right to practise *nughush* in it. The Qara overlords who wished to share in the benefits of ghostly grace demanded to go "fifty-fifty" in the sacrifice. The government wali, in order to make government itself a partner in the scheme and share in the crops of the plains, decided that both parties would receive exactly equal quantities of food from government so that there should be no cheating. But in later years the slave soldiers of government, becoming overbearing in their treatment of Bait Zaiyan, the latter called upon the departed spirits of their forefathers who promptly made the water run up hill, so that the crops in the plains withered and died, whereupon government's share lapsed.

Cases of virtue held to be latent in certain dying animals I met with on several occasions. The highly valued contents of the antelope's bladder for magic and its stomach for camels, may be purely a rational custom, but that cannot be said of a raven I had shot. While it lay dying a Badu asked for its heart, which he proposed thus to eat raw and palpitating. This was, he said, a protection to his own heart from evil influence, its bile also which he proposed mixing with kohl with which to annoint his eyelids. The Shahari who killed my biggest cobra,

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825 a 3 ft. 4 in. specimen, took delight in stroking his own eyelids with its tail. This he held would
789 impart virtue to his sight.

● 754 I have never met animistic cults amongst northern Arabs, who profess contempt for such practices, if indeed they do not dub them ungodly.

INHERITANCE.

428 The usual law of Muhammadan inheritance, which is inviolable in other parts of Arabia, is not here observed. By that law a man's estate, after meeting of debts, is divided up into shares—a daughter receives one share, a son two shares, and the wives one-eighth of the estate. Where there are no sons, the paternal uncle, or in the case of there being none, the paternal male cousins, receive the son's share. Amongst the southern borderland tribes, Al Kathir, etc., the debts on a man's estate may not take up more than one-third of it. Of the remaining two-thirds of it, one-fourth goes to the wife that has borne children, one-eighth to the wife that has not borne children and the remainder goes to the children. But where it differs from Shara law is that if there is no son and less than three daughters, the deceased's brother is entitled to only a daughter's share, and if there are three or more daughters, they take the whole of it, and paternal male relations get nothing.

The laws of inheritance of the mountains are also peculiar. They are bound up with
[782] their cult of animal sacrifice. Their wealth, as already shown, is generally in cows, and at a man's decease half of his cattle are slaughtered as a blood-sacrifice up to the number of 20. In the case of large herds 20 is the maximum. Creditor claims are allowed on the estate to the extent of 1 in 10, and what remains is divided between sons and daughters. The wives' portion is the same as the debts, 1 in 10 in a small estate and generally a maximum of 5 in the
[801] case of large estates. A peculiar feature of this mountain system is that if a woman has one daughter, or three daughters and no sons, no part of the estate passes to her deceased husband's family. If she has two daughters it does. There thus seems to be some special merit in the figures 1 and 3. Another feature of the mountain system which differs from the usage of the South Arabian tribes, but accords with Shara, is that all wives get the same share irrespective of whether they have borne children or not.

LOVEMAKING, MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE.

582 Polygamous marriage and facile divorce are the same in South Arabia as elsewhere
583 throughout the peninsula, but with this difference, that the "paternal cousin" has not here the same unquestioned right to the girl's hand as holds elsewhere. The father is the supreme arbiter. The girl is never consulted, at least on the first marriage, about her views on her spouse. In any case she is but a child. Early marriages in both sexes are usual, and instances where one party or the other has not yet reached the age of puberty are not rare, but that is no hindrance to marital relations.

576 The mountain people kiss the cheek in salutation, the nomad tribes of South Arabia use
932 the triple nose-kiss, left, right, centre. This is also the lover's kiss amongst them. To grasp

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a woman's hand as we should in a hand shake is a shameful overture. The stranger meeting a woman would salute her with outstretched hand and a smart tap of the finger tips only.

Generally speaking, the woman in South Arabia has more liberty than in any other part I know. If there are no love matches in our sense of the word, ladies do make *qasidas* which are passed on for those for whom they are intended by word of mouth. Elsewhere no woman would dare sing—it would be unthinkable for instance in Oman, where she would be beaten as a hussy, but I often heard in these mountains the choruses of women at the water-holes, and very charming they sounded.

Marriage in South Arabia requires a *qadhi*, but divorce does not. A man has only to tire of his wife and say *Talaq* three times, whereupon she must betake herself to her father's house with no alimony beyond the original marriage price—wherefore she is a careful woman. If she is tired of him she must return his marriage portion, and her family the purchase price. It is a rule amongst them that a woman who has gone blind is never divorced. A really expensive bride may cost 20 cows, say 400 Maria Theresa dollars, but they can be much cheaper, ranging downwards to one cow or even 10 dollars. The groom and bride representative father or brother) descend to the plain where a *qadhi* legalizes the marriage, and on returning, the women folk of the bride, preceded by men, conduct her to the cave of her spouse. The only cave furniture will be a small carpet bought for the occasion. The bridegroom will slaughter a couple of cows to make a feast and invite all to it, but beyond the men's *rabot* (a monotonous chant of the mountains) there is no dancing and joy-making such as characterize rites of circumcision.

With these tribes child-birth seems to be easy for the woman. She works up to a day or two before the child arrives. She bears it under a tree in the open or in a cave with the possible assistance of her mother or sister, the position being said to be not unlike that taken up by a sprinter for the start of a race. They have no beds, there is no lying in and she is generally fit for work the next day.

Illegitimacy is almost unknown in spite of the greater freedom enjoyed. Early and universal marriage is the reason. Transgression for a girl is regarded differently here than elsewhere in Arabia. In Oman an unmarried expectant mother, or a wife committing adultery, would on discovery be murdered by her father or brother—not by her husband. Nothing would be done to the man who had seduced her. Here the girl would be turned out of the tribe and have to fend for herself, and her male relations would wreak revenge on some female relation of the seducer if they could not pursue and wound him with a sword.

CAVES AND HOUSES.

In the mountains men live in caves during the summer monsoon rain, and under trees at other times. They are not nomads and caves are private possessions. In the coastal plain itself, where man makes a house to shelter himself, the first thing he does is to hammer four nails into the respective corners of the house, which are supposed to keep out the Evil Eye. When completed he slaughters a lamb on the threshold as a sacrifice to his walls enduring—